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THE TABLET.——No. XVII.

"The habit of acquiring property begets a caution in parting with it."

MEN who poſſeſs a cenſorious temper are apt to complain, that people loſe their *inclination* to do good, in proportion as their *ability* encreaſes. This is hardly true in the extent which is commonly ſuppoſed, and even where the fact exiſts, it often deſerves an apology. When a man proſpers in buſineſs, his friends are too much inclined to imagine, that they have a claim to participate in his good fortune; and it often happens, that applications for aſſiſtance, to this proſperous man, multiply faſter than his property enlarges. Every one, who meets with a refuſal, charges him with unkindneſs, and really believes, that wealth has hardened his heart, and abated his regard for his friends.

It may be granted for once, that the fact fully authoriſes the charge, and that men grow avaricious as they grow rich. Some reaſons, however, ſhould be offered to explain and apologize for this change of diſpoſition.

In the firſt place, it may be mentioned, that as men extend their buſineſs they find by experience, that they ſuſtain more inconvenience than they expected, in aſſiſting their acquaintance. The frequent diſappointments and loſſes they meet with, by advances to their friends, deſtroy their confidence in mankind; and they ſuſpect all, who have not given unequivocal proofs of their punctuality and knowledge of buſineſs. This loſs of confidence is a powerful cauſe in reſtraining rich men from lending aſſiſtance to their leſs proſperous friends and neighbours. When they formerly ſeemed more diſpoſed to patroniſe others, they did not anticipate the conſequences, that would reſult from indulging a temper of undiſtinguiſhing liberality.

Another reaſon for this change of diſpoſition, which is complained of, may be drawn from the influence that proſperity unavoidably produces over the mind. The ſympathetic impulſes do not operate vigorouſly, where there is no ſimilarity of circumſtances. A man, entering into buſineſs with a ſmall capital, has occaſion to aſk aſſiſtance; and when it is aſked of him, he denies with ſome reluctance, becauſe he has a fellow-feeling with him who ſolicits it. But when he becomes independent, he forgets the pleaſure and advantage that are derived from benevolent aid, and therefore his ſenſibility does not, as formerly, prompt him to grant the favors that are requeſted.

A third reaſon reſults from the nature of the human conſtitution. Avarice and precaution are among the attendants of old age. If therefore we perceive a man, who was benevolent and friendly when he was young, aſſuming a different character when he becomes old, we muſt, in addition to the other cauſes that have been enumerated, ſuppoſe that he is acting agreeably to a law of his nature.

Mr. FENNO,

EVERY friend to the rights of conſcience, equal liberty and diffuſive happineſs, muſt have felt pain on ſeeing the attempt made by one of your correſpondents, in the Gazette of the United States No. 8, May the 9th, to revive an odious ſyſtem of religious intolerance.—The author may not have been fully ſenſible of the tendency of his publication, becauſe he ſpeaks of preſerving univerſal toleration. Perhaps he is one of thoſe who think it conſiſtent with juſtice to exclude certain citizens from the honors and emoluments of ſociety, merely on account of their religious opinions, provided they be not reſtrained by racks and forfeitures from the exerciſe of that worſhip which their conſciences approve.—If ſuch be his views, in vain then have Americans aſſociated into one great national union, under the expreſs condition of not being ſhackled by religious teſts; and under a firm perſuaſion that they were to retain when aſſociated, every natural right not expreſsly ſurrendered.

Is it pretended that they, who are the objects of an intended excluſion from certain offices of honor and advantage, have forfeited by an act, or treaſon againſt the United States, the common rights of nature, or the ſtipulated rights of the political ſociety, of which they form a part? This the author has not preſumed to aſſert. Their blood flowed as freely (in proportion to their numbers) to cement the fabric of independence as that of any of their fellow-citizens: They concurred with perhaps greater unanimity than any other body of men, in recommending and promoting that government, from whoſe influence America anticipates all the bleſſings of juſtice, peace, plenty, good order and civil and religious liberty. What character ſhall we then give to a ſyſtem of policy, for the expreſs purpoſe of diveſting of rights legally acquired thoſe citizens, who are not only unoffending, but whoſe conduct has been highly meritorious?

Theſe obſervations refer to the general tendency of the publication, which I now proceed to conſider more particularly. Is it true as the author ſtates, that our forefathers abandoned their native home; renounced its honors and comforts, and buried themſelves in the immenſe foreſts of this new world, for the ſake of that religion which he recommends preferable to any other? Was not the religion which the emigrants to the four ſouthern States brought with them to America, the pre-eminent and favored religion of the country which they left? Did the Roman Catholics who firſt came to Maryland, leave their native ſoil for the ſake of preſerving the Proteſtant church? Was this the motive of the peaceable Quakers in the ſettlement of Pennſylvania? Did the firſt inhabitants of the Jerſeys and New-York, quit Europe for fear of being compelled to renounce their Proteſtant tenets? Can it be even truly affirmed that this motive operated on all, or a majority of thoſe who began to ſettle and improve the four eaſtern States? Or even if they really where influenced by a deſire of preſerving their religion, what will enſue from the fact, but that one denomination of Proteſtants ſought a retreat from the perſecution of another? Will hiſtory juſtify the aſſertion that they left their native homes for the ſake of the Proteſtant religion, underſtanding it in a comprehenſive ſenſe as diſtinguiſhed from every other?

This leading fact being ſo much miſtated, no wonder that the author ſhould go on bewildering himſelf more and more. He aſſerts that the *religion* which he recommends, *laid the foundation of this new and great empire*; and therefore contends it is entitled to pre-eminence and diſtinguiſhed favor. Might I not ſay with equal truth, that the religion which he recommends exerted her powers to cruſh this empire in its birth, and ſtill is laboring to prevent its growth? For, can we ſo ſoon forget, or now help ſeeing, that the bittereſt enemies of our national proſperity profeſs the ſame religion as prevails generally in the United States? What inference will a philoſophic mind derive from this view, but that religion is out of the queſtion? That it is ridiculous to ſay, THE PROTESTANT RELIGION IS THE IMPORTANT BULWARK OF OUR CONSTITUTION? That the eſtabliſhment of the American empire was not the work of this or that religion, but aroſe from a generous exertion of all her citizens to redreſs their wrongs, to aſſert their rights, and lay its foundations on the ſoundeſt principles of juſtice and equal liberty?

When he aſcribed ſo many valuable effects to his cheriſhed religion, as that ſhe was the nurſe *of arts and ſciences*, could he not reflect, that *Homer* and *Virgil*, *Demoſthenes* and *Cicero*, *Thucydides* and *Livy*, *Phidias* and *Apelles* flouriſhed long before this nurſe *of arts and ſciences* had an exiſtence? Was he ſo inconſiderate as not to attend to the conſequences, favorable to Polytheiſm, which flow from his reaſoning? Or did he forget that the Emperor Julian, the ſubtle and inveterate enemy of chriſtianity, applied this very ſame argument to the defence of Heatheniſh ſuperſtition? The recollection of that circumſtance may induce him to ſuſpect the weight of his obſervation, and perhaps to doubt of the fact, which he aſſumed for its baſis.

But he tells us that Britain owes to *her religion her preſent diſtinguiſhed greatneſs*: a gentle invitation to America to purſue the ſame political maxims, in heaping excluſive favors on one, and depreſſing all other religions!

But does Britain owe indeed the perfection and extent of her manufactures, and the enormous wealth of many individuals to the cauſe aſſigned by this author? Can he ſo ſoon put it out of his mind, that the patient induſtry ſo natural to Engliſh artificers, and the long monopoly of our trade, and that of their dependencies, by increaſing the demand and a competition among her artizans, contributed principally to the perfection of the manufactures of Britain? And that the plunder of Indian provinces poured into her lap the immenſe fortunes which murder and rapacity accumulated in thoſe fertile climes? God forbid that religion ſhould be inſtrumental in raiſing ſuch greatneſs!

When the author proceeds to ſay, that the clergy of that religion, which operated ſuch wonders in Britain, *boldly and zealouſly ſtepped forth and bravely ſtood our diſtinguiſhed ſentinels to bring about the late glorious revolution*, I am almoſt determined to follow him no further: He is leading me on too tender ground, on which I chuſe not to venture. The clergy of that religion behaved, I believe, as any other clergy would have done in ſimilar circumſtances: But the voice of America will not contradict me, when I aſſert that they diſcovered no greater zeal for the revolution, than the miniſtry of any other denomination whatever.

When men comprehend not, or refuſe to admit the luminous principles on which the rights of conſcience and liberty of religion depend, they are induſtrious to find out pretences for intolerance. If they cannot diſcover them in the actions, they ſtrain to cull them out of the tenets of the religion which they wiſh to exclude from a free participation of equal rights. Thus this author attributes to his religion the merit of being *the moſt favorable to freedom*, and affirms that not only *morality* but *liberty* likewiſe muſt expire, if his clergy ſhould ever be *contemned* or *neglected*: all which conveys a refined inſinuation, that liberty cannot conſiſt with, or be cheriſhed by any other religious inſtitution; and which therefore he would give us to underſtand, it is not ſafe to countenance in a free government.

I am anxious to guard againſt the impreſſion intended by ſuch inſinuations; not merely for the ſake of any one profeſſion, but from an earneſt regard to preſerve inviolate for ever, in our new empire, the great principle of religious freedom. The conſtitutions of ſome of the States continue ſtill to intrench on the ſacred righrs of conſcience; and men who have bled, and opened their purſes as freely in the cauſe of liberty and independence, as any other citizens, are moſt unjuſtly excluded from the advantages which they contributed to eſtabliſh. But if bigotry and narrow prejudices have prevented hitherto the cure of theſe evils, be it the duty of every lover of peace and juſtice to extend them no further. Let the author who has opened this field for diſcuſſion, be aware of ſlyly imputing to any ſet of men, principles or conſequences, which they diſavow. He perhaps may meet with retaliation. He may be told and referred to Lord Lyttleton, as zealous a Proteſtant as any man of his days, for information, that the principles of non-reſiſtence *ſeemed the principles* of that religion which we are now told is *moſt favourable to freedom*; and that its opponents *had gone too far in the other extreme*.*

He may be told farther, that a Reverend Prelate of Ireland, the Biſhop of Cloyne, has lately attempted to prove, that the Proteſtant Epiſcopal church is beſt fitted to unite with the civil conſtitution of a mixed monarchy, while Preſbyterianiſm is only congenial with republicaniſm. Muſt America then yielding to theſe fanciful ſyſtems, confine her *diſtinguiſhing* favors to the followers of Calvin, and keep a jealous eye on all others? Ought ſhe not rather to treat with contempt theſe idle, and generally ſpeaking intereſted ſpeculations, refuted by reaſon, hiſtory, and daily experience, and reſt the preſervation of her liberties and her government on the attachment of mankind to their political happineſs, to the ſecurity of their perſons and their property, which is independent of religious doctrines, and not reſtrained by any? PACIFICUS.

* See dialogues of the dead, 1ſt dialogue.

A SKETCH OF THE POLITICAL STATE OF AMERICA.

[Continued from No. XVI.]

AS an impartial and able interpretation of the laws and regulations of a country, which determine the merits or demerits of its citizens, is neceſſary to ſecure the life, liberty, and property of the ſubject, and ought to be placed in a diſtinct and ſeperate body of men independent of the other branches of government, the conſtitution of the United States has wiſely provided for the eſtabliſhment of a national judiciary, competent to the deliberation upon, and determination of, thoſe diſputes and cauſes, civil and criminal, between individuals only and between individuals and the community, to which the preſent exiſting judiciaries would not have been competent, their reſearches and practices being rather confined to corporate and municipal law, and not involving the great and extenſive objects of national juriſprudence: The ſimple ſelf evident propoſition, that the means ought ever to be commenſurate with the end deſigned, points out the need of a national judiciary; the inconveniencies and incompatibilities which muſt have neceſſarily reſulted from the interpretation of the national laws by the State judicial courts, the partial determinations to be feared from juries ſo impannelled as to have their corporate if not perſonal intereſt affected by the iſſue of many cauſes; the ſtrong bias of ſeperate intereſts and views, are ſo many ſarcaſms upon the idea, and appear ſo obviouſly improper to the thinking mind as to make any more particular illuſtrations unneceſſary.

The perfect propriety of having a national judiciary, to interpret the laws made by a national legiſlature; and to decide upon the cauſes which naturally come within the cognizance of thoſe laws, intuitively produces conviction in the mind, from only a curſory glance of the jubject; and that this eſtabliſhment, co-equal with the objects it involves ſhould alſo be co-exiſtent with thoſe objects, is what as readily ſtrikes the mind with its neceſſity aud propriety: The application of this will diſcover the need of commencing the judiciary with the revenue ſyſtem, as that may perhaps be almoſt as productive of cauſes ſubject to its inſpection and deciſion, as of income to the public treaſury; but the multiplicity and variety of diſputes and contentions, which the pride, the anger, the deſire of revenge, the avarice, the knavery, and the operation of the diverſe prejudices and paſſions of mankind, give riſe to re innumerable, and flow as natural from their various ſources, as ſtreams from their ſeveral fountains—and their recital (if poſſible) would only ſerve to torture the benevolent mind, and wring with anguiſh the ſofter ſenſations of the human heart: That every moment of time, preſents additional reaſons for laws aud regulations, among men, all will be ready to acknowledge:—How to form thoſe laws and regulations, in a manner moſt advantageous, and moſt completely, ſo as to alleviate the evils, and ſoften the ill effects, which accrue to mankind, from an unlimited ſway of their paſſions; as alſo to avoid the diſadvantages, which, in many caſes, muſt ſpring to them from theſe very forms, and the abuſe of law practices; a taſk honorable in itſelf, and muſt be peculiarly grateful to the fine feelings which actuate the mind of the enlightened philoſopher and accompliſhed ſtateſman: Though the national Conſtitution, which is no more than general principles thrown into form, for the guide of our Legiſlators, and to be readily recurred to, could not take cognizance of every caſe and particular object; and though it has not explicitly provided for a trial by jury (that ineſtimable privilege of freemen) in all cauſes, yet it has no where oppoſed or forbid it: And the operation of thoſe feelings and principles abovementioned, will, I am confident, from the characters of the men who have the plan of the judiciary ſyſtem now in contemplation, prompt them to grant every latitude, in this and all other reſpects, which a regard to freedom and the rights of human nature demand, and which will not involve in its conſequences greater evils and embarraſſments, than thoſe which it is intended to remedy;—their uniform patriotiſm, their tried integrity, claim this preſumption upon their conduct, and the liberal mind will be hurt to withold it:—But here ſuffer me again to obſerve, what cannot be too often urged, or too ſtrongly inculcated, that in framing the judiciary ſyſtem, a ſacrifice of local views and partial prejudices, will be found peculiarly neceſſary, to eſtabliſh it on proper grounds—to aſſiſt its great and good deſign—to avoid expence, and produce the moſt eaſe and benefit to the ſubject.—Private virtue, and public happineſs, are inſeparably connected; and while the comprehenſive eye of the ſtateſman takes a view of the happy effect of this principle, his able hand will be extended by all poſſible means to preſerve the morals of the community, in giving every encouragement to virtue, induſtry, and good conduct, on the one hand, and by the rigid puniſhment of vice, in all its haggard forms, on the other;—he will nicely watch the various fluctuations, which ariſe from many ſources, to marr the happineſs of ſociety, and carefully endeavour to preſerve thoſe balances between the contending paſſions and oppoſing intereſts of mankind; which, without ſuch direction, muſt lead to confuſion and miſery, but with it, may be made to produce order and happineſs.

AMERICANUS.

ARTILLERY ELECTION.

BOSTON, JUNE 3. On Monday laſt, agreeably to their charter, the Ancient and Honorable Artillery of this Commonwealth held their anniverſary election.

After attending divine ſervice, which was performed by the Rev. Mr. BARNARD, of Salem, who delivered an ingenious ſermon adapted to the occaſion, a PROCESSION was formed in the following order, eſcorted by the company, and preceded by a Band of Muſic, all in elegant uniform.

Lt. Gov. ADAMS.—Hon. Mr. BOWDOIN.
The Hon. Council.
Preſident—and other Senators.
Judges of the Supreme Court.
Speaker, and other Members of the Houſe.
The Seleƈtmen, and other Town Officers.
The Clergy.
The Hon. Conſul of France.
Continental Civil Officers.
Officers of Cadets—Caſtle William—Light Infantry—Artillery—Fuziliers—all in uniforms, &c.
Capt. LINZEE,
and five other Officers of his Britannic Majeſty's frigate *Penelope*.
Honorary Members, &c.

The whole amounting to about 200, proceeded to Faneuil-Hall, where they all partook at a ſumptuous and elegant entertainment.

After dinner, the following, among other toaſts were given.

1. The illuſtrious THE PRESIDENT of the United States—[*three cheers.*] His Excellency the VICE-PRESIDENT, and the Congreſs of the United States. His Excellency JOHN HANCOCK. May the influence of the Federal Government be felt by, and promote the happineſs of each individual under it.

After the firſt toaſt, the following Ode was ſung by Mr. Rea, Col. Waters, Capt. Wells, and others.

O D E.

FROM Britain's ſea-girt Iſle,
Where FLORA's richeſt ſmile
Luxuriant glows—
To this then deſert waſte,
By Savages poſſeſt—
To be with Freedom bleſt,
In calm repoſe:
Our enterprizing Sires,
Warm'd with fair Freedom's fires,
Advent'rous came,
Here they their dwelling made,
Their ſtandard here diſplay'd—
Beneath the wild woods ſhade,
Set up their claim.
By faithleſs foes compell'd
To tread the ſanguine field,
Unſkill'd in war,
This *Inſtitution* made
To teach its martial trade,
To wield the ſhining blade
The foe to dare.
While the ſame martial fire,
That did their breaſts inſpire,
Our boſoms warms,
May we with equal zeal,
Purſue the public weal,
Nor fear the bloody ſteel,
If call'd to arms.
Illuſtrious FOUNDERS hail,
This day your patriot zeal,
Your Sons proclaim.
Your names we venerate,
Your glory emulate,
And tell our ſons how great,
Their grandſires fame.
Hark! The loud trumps proclaim
WASHINGTON's glorious name,
Charge! Fill again,
Fill the bowl—fill it high,
Firſt born Son of the Sky,
May he never, never die,
Heaven ſhout—AMEN.

After which the company marched into the ſquare on the common, prepared for its reception—and elected
Brigadier-General HULL, Captain.
Major ANDREW CUNNINGHAM, Lieutenant. and
Captain TURNER PHILLIPS, Enſign.

We muſt not forget to mention, that among the *voluntaries*, their Moſt Chriſtian and Britannic Majeſties' healths were drank: Nor to omit mentioning the polite and pleaſing deportment of the officers of his Britannic Majeſty's frigate—who heartily joined in the univerſal hilarity—and who received from every one preſent all due attention, agreeably to the ſpirit of our memorable Declaration of Independence, which declares, that "*we hold the King and ſubjects of Great Britain, as we do the reſt of the world,* ENEMIES *in* War, *in* Peace FRIENDS."

The Hall was elegantly decorated. At the entrance was a bower, and at the upper end Eleven connected Pillars, all of evergreen: Between the centre pillars was placed a full-length portrait of the illuſtrious Preſident of the United States, over which was an obeliſk, eight feet in length, deſigned and finely executed by JOHNSON, repreſenting at the top *the all-pervading Eye*, diffuſing its influence on our Fabius, with the words, "*Fideles Protego,*" wrote over it.—In the centre, a winged Cherub, crowning THE PRESIDENT with a *Chaplet of Laurel*, incircling the words, "*Premium Virtutis*"—the words "*ſic itur ad Aſtra,*" on a garter extending on each ſide of the Cherub—and from the wall hung ſeveral judiciouſly placed feſtoons and cluſters—the whole decorated with flowers of various tints—which, while diſpenſing an agreeable odour, ſtruck the eye very pleaſingly. Two large American colours, half diſplayed, and attached to the wall on each ſide THE PRESIDENT, had a fine effect. To the credit of the gentlemen who executed theſe decorations, we add, that the thouſands who viſited the Hall to view them, had but one opinion of them—and that an applauding one

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The PUBLIC GOOD.—An O D E.

DRIV'N out from Heav'n's ethereal domes,
On earth inſatiate Diſcord roams,
And ſpreads her baneful influence far;
On wretched man her ſcorpion ſtings,
Around the aſſiduous fury flings,
Corroding every bliſs, and ſharp'ning ev'ry care.
Hence Demon; hence; in tenfold night
Thy ſtygian ſpells employ,
Nor with thy preſence blaſt the light
Of that auſpicious day, that gives *COLUMBIA* joy.

But come thou ſofter deity,
Faireſt unanimity!
Not more fair the ſtar that leads
Bright Aurora's glowing ſteeds,
Or on Heſper's front that ſhines,
When the gariſh day declines;
Bring thy uſual train along,
Feſtive dance and choral ſong,
Looſe rob'd ſport, from folly free,
And mirth reſtrain'd by decency.

United, let us all thoſe bleſſings find,
The God of nature meant mankind;
Whate'er of error ill redreſt,
Whate'er of paſſion, ill repreſt,
Whate'er the wicked have conceiv'd,
And folly's heedleſs ſons believ'd—
Let all lie buried in oblivions flood,
And our great cement be the *PUBLIC GOOD.*

Enough of war the penſive muſe has ſung,
Enough of ſlaughter trembled on her tongue,
Then fairer proſpects let her bring,
Than hoſtile fields and ſcenes of blood;
Since happier hours are on the wing,
Haſte! let's promote the *public good.*

No more our tears again ſhall flow,
Shut are the portals of our woe.
Bright ey'd *HOPE*, thy pleaſing power,
Gilds at length the preſent hour,
Every anxious thought beguiles,
Dreſſes every face in ſmiles,
Nor lets one tranſient cloud the bliſs deſtroy,
Of this auſpicious day, that gives *COLUMBIA* joy.

The POLITICIAN.

AN EXTRACT.

A Politician ſhould have a large and elevated ſoul. It is not ſufficient, that his penetration is rapid, that his judgment is acute, that he is poſſeſſed of that vaſt and happy ſpecies of imagination which invents, diſtributes, connects; which ſees at once the whole, and all its parts; which puts the maſs in agitation, and gives warmth and vigor to all its dependencies: He muſt join to all theſe an elevation of ſentiment, or his character is imperfect.

SKETCH of PROCEEDINGS of CONGRESS.

In the HOUSE *of* REPRESENTATIVES *of the* UNITED STATES.

MONDAY, JUNE 8, 1789.

Hon. MICHAEL J. STONE member from Maryland appeared in the Houſe, and took the oath.

Mr. GOODHUE introduced a petition from NICHOLAS PIKE of Newbury-Port, Maſſachuſetts—the prayer of which was, that Congreſs would paſs a law, to ſecure to him his property in a work which he had publiſhed with great labor and expenſe, entitled A COMPLEAT SYSTEM OF ARITHMETIC—this was referred to the committee appointed to bring in a bill to ſecure to authors the benefit of their publications.

Upon motion it was voted, that the ſeveral petitions from Tradeſmen and Manufacturers, ſhould be tranſmitted to the Senate.

Mr. MADISON, agreeably to notice, moved that the Houſe now form itſelf into a committee of the whole, upon the ſtate of the Union, to take into conſideration the ſubject of amendments agreeably to the 5th article of the Conſtitution.

Mr. SMITH (of South-Carolina) ſuggeſted the inexpediency of taking up the ſubject at the preſent moment, in a committee of the whole, while matters of the greateſt importance and of immediate conſequence were lying unfiniſhed. The great buſineſs of the revenue appeared to him to claim a conſtant and uninterrupted attention till compleated—he moved therefore, that inſtead of referring the ſubject to a committee of the whole, a ſelect committee ſhould be raiſed, to take into conſideration the amendments propoſed by the ſeveral States.

Mr. JACKSON—I am oppoſed, Sir, to taking up the ſubject of amendments to the Conſtitution, till we have had ſome experience of its good or bad qualities.—The Conſtitution may be compared to a ſhip that has never yet put to ſea—ſhe is now laying in the dock—we have had no tryal as yet; we do not know how ſhe may ſteer—what ſort of a helm ſhe carries—we can not determine with any preciſion, whether ſhe ſails upon an even keel or no—Upon experiment ſhe may prove faultleſs, or her defects may be very obvious—but the preſent is not the time for alterations.—Very important and urgent buſineſs now requires the attention of this honorable body—buſineſs of ſuch conſequence as that of revenue, without which the conſtitution is of very little importance in itſelf conſidered.—Should amendments now be taken up, it will be months perhaps before we can get through with them—mean time the important intereſts of our conſtituents are ſacrificed. The State that I have the honor to repreſent, has ratified the Conſtitution without ſpecifying any amendments, they are ſatisfied with it, in its preſent form; till experience ſhall point out its defects—I move therefore, Sir, that the conſideration of the ſubject of amendments be poſtponed till the firſt day of March, 1790.

Mr. GOODHUE obſerved, that though he conſidered it as being premature to take up the ſubject of amendments at the preſent time; yet he could not conceive the propriety of poſtponing the matter to ſo long a period—it certainly was the general idea that amendments ſhould be conſidered, and a regard to the wiſhes of our conſtituents required that they ſhould be attended to as ſoon as public intereſt permitted.

Mr. BURKE made ſome objections of a ſimilar import with thoſe which fell from Mr. Goodhue—and thought that the ſubject of the revenue, was of the greateſt importance to be immediately attended to.

Mr. MADISON obſerved, that the ſubject had been poſtponed from time to time—that the members might have opportunity more fully to make up their judgments upon it—a fortnight has elapſed ſince the firſt aſſigned period, and if the motion for a further diſtant period ſhould be adopted, it would be conſtrued into a deſign, to take no ſerious notice of the buſineſs—the propoſitions for amendments to the conſtitution came from various quarters, and thoſe the moſt reſpectable, and therefore to give ſome degree of ſatisfaction, it ſeemed neceſſary, that Congreſs ſhould as ſoon as poſſible, attend to the wiſhes of their conſtituents—He did not propoſe that a full inveſtigation ſhould *immediately* be gone into—but to quiet the apprehenſions of a great many perſons, reſpecting the ſecuring certain rights, which it was ſuppoſed were not ſufficiently guarded, he thought it neceſſary, that Congreſs ſhould commence the enquiry, and place the matter in ſuch a train as to inſpire a reaſonable hope and expectation, that full juſtice would eventually be done to ſo important a ſubject—He therefore renewed his motion for the Houſe to go into a committee of the whole, that the inveſtigation of the buſineſs might at leaſt commence.

Mr. SHERMAN ſuppoſed, that takig up the ſubject of amendments at this time would alarm more perſons than would have their apprehenſions quieted thereby—He thought that the neceſſity of amendments would be beſt pointed out by the defects, which experience may diſcover in the conſtitution.

A meſſage was received from the Senate, informing the Houſe, that they had concurred in their vote of the 28th of May—by which every member is to be furniſhed with a compleat ſett of the Journals of the late Congreſs.

Mr. WHITE obſerved, that the ſubject of amendments was of very extenſive importance—he ſuppoſed that the Houſe could not, with any propriety, defer their conſideration any longer; for although the Conſtitution had been ſo generally ratified, yet it was evident, that alterations and amendments were expected by perhaps a majority of the people at large.

Mr. SMITH (S. C.) then introduced a propoſition, for the appointment of a ſelect committee, to take the buſineſs into conſideration, and report.

Mr. PAGE was in favour of a committee of the whole, and urged the propriety of commencing the enquiry without any further delay, as a meaſure that would be productive of very happy conſequences.

M. VINING was oppoſed to the meaſure for ſeveral reaſons—the incompleteneſs of the revenue and judiciary ſyſtems;—theſe, he urged, ought to be finiſhed previous to a diſcuſſion of amendments: The judiciary ſyſtem may provide a remedy for ſome of the defects complained of—and without giving the Conſtitution any operation, it was impoſſible to determine what were defects, or not—and what alterations were neceſſary.—He further obſerved, that he conceived it neceſſary, previous to any diſcuſſion of the ſubject, that it ſhould be aſcertained whether two-thirds of the Houſe and Senate were in favour of entering upon the buſineſs—he ſuppoſed that the voice of two thirds were as requiſite to ſanction the *expediency* of the meaſure, as they were to the *adoption* of amendments—He was fully of opinion, that experience alone, could aſcertain the real qualities of the Conſtitution—The people are waiting with anxiety for the operation of the Government—What has Congreſs done?—Have they paſſed a revenue law?—Is not the revenue daily eſcaping us?—Is it not of immenſe conſequence to compleat the ſyſtem?—Let us not perplex ourſelves, by introducing one weighty and important queſtion after another, till ſome deciſions are made: This mode of introducing one piece of buſineſs, before a former one is compleated, tends to confuſe the mind, and incapacitate it from doing full juſtice to any ſubject—He hoped, therefore, that the Houſe would not go into a committee of *the whole* upon this buſineſs.

Mr. MADISON conceded to the motion for chuſing a ſelect committee—He then obſerved, That he thought it would be attended with ſalutary effects, ſhould Congreſs devote, at the preſent time, ſo much at leaſt as one day to this buſineſs, to convince the world, that the friends of the Conſtitution were as firm friends to liberty as thoſe who had oppoſed it: The advocates for amendments are numerous and reſpectable—ſome alteration of the Conſtitution lays with great weight upon their minds—they merit conſideration.—He urged the expediency of the meaſure, from the ſituation of Rhode-Iſland and North-Carolina—He had no doubt that it would conciliate them towards the Union, and induce them to unite, and again become branches of the great American Family.—He was, he obſerved, in favour of ſundry alterations, or amendments, to the Conſtitution—he ſuppoſed that they could be made without injury to the ſyſtem—He did not wiſh a re-conſideration of the whole—but ſuppoſed that alterations might be made, without effecting the eſſential principles of the Conſtitution, which would meet with univerſal approbation;—theſe he would propoſe ſhould be incorporated in the body of the Conſtitution.—He then mentioned the ſeveral objections which had been made by ſeveral of the States, and by people at large:—A bill of rights has been the great object contended for—but this was one of thoſe amendments which he had not ſuppoſed very eſſential.—The freedom of the preſs, and the rights of conſcience, thoſe choiceſt flowers in the prerogative of the people, are not guarded by the Britiſh Conſtitution:—With reſpect to theſe, apprehenſions had been entertained of their inſecurity under the new Conſtitution; a bill of rights, therefore, to quiet the minds of people upon theſe points, may be ſalutary.—He then adverted to the ſeveral bills of rights, which were annexed to the Conſtitutions of individual States;—the great object of theſe was, to limit and qualify the powers of Government—to guard againſt the encroachments of the Executive.—In the Federal Government, the Executive is the weakeſt—the great danger lies not in the Executive, but in the great body of the people—in the diſpoſition which the majority always diſcovers, to bear down, and depreſs the minority.

In ſtating objections which had been made to affixing a bill of rights to the conſtitution, Mr. MADISON obſerved, that objections to a continental bill of rights applied equally to their adoption by the States—The objection to a bill of rights, from the powers delegated by the Conſtitution being defined and limited, has weight, while the Government confines itſelf to thoſe ſpecified limits; but inſtances may occur, in which thoſe limits may be exceeded, by virtue of a conſtruction of that clauſe empowering Congreſs to make all neceſſary laws to carry the Conſtitution into execution—The article of general warrants may be inſtanced.—It has been obſerved, that the Conſtitution does not repeal the State bills of rights;—to this it may be replied, that ſome of the States are without any—and that articles contained in thoſe that have them, are very improper, and infringe upon the rights of human nature, in ſeveral reſpects.—It has been ſaid, that bills of rights have been violated—but does it follow from thence that they do not produce ſalutary effects: This objection may be urged againſt every regulation whatever.—From theſe, and other conſiderations, Mr. Madiſon inferred the expediency of a declaration of rights, to be incorporated in the Conſtitution.

Mr. MADISON further obſerved, That the proportion of Repreſentatives had been objected to—and particularly the diſcretionary power of diminiſhing the number.—There is an impropriety in the Legiſlatures' determining their own compenſation, with a power to vary its amount.—The rights of conſcience; liberty of the preſs, and trial by jury, ſhould be ſo ſecured, as to put it out of the power of the Legiſlature to infringe them.—Fears reſpecting the judiciary ſyſtem, ſhould be entirely done away—and an expreſs declaration made, that all rights not expreſsly given up, are retained.—He wiſhed, that a declaration upon theſe points might be attended to—and if the Conſtitution can be made better in the view of its moſt ſanguine ſupporters, by making ſome alterations in it, we ſhall not act the part of wiſe men not to do it—He therefore moved for the appointment of a committee, to propoſe amendments, which ſhould be laid before the Legiſlatures of the ſeveral States, agreeably to the 5th article of the Conſtitution.

Mr. JACKSON obſerved, That the Hon. Gentleman's ingenious detail, ſo far from convincing him of the expediency of bringing forward the ſubject of amendments at this time, had confirmed him in the contrary opinion: The proſpect which ſuch a diſcuſſion opened, was wide and extenſive, and would preclude other buſineſs, of much greater moment, at the preſent juncture—He differed widely from the Gentleman, with regard to bills of rights—ſeveral of the States had no ſuch bills—Rhode-Iſland had none—there, liberty was carried to exceſs, and licentiouſneſs triumphed—In ſome States, which had ſuch a nominal ſecurity, the encroachments upon the rights of the people had been moſt complained of.—The preſs, Mr. Jackſon obſerved, is unboundedly free—a recent inſtance of which the Houſe had witneſſed in an attack upon one of its members—A bill of rights is a mere *ignis fatuus*, amuſing by appearances, and leading often to dangerous concluſions.—I repeat it, Sir, the preſent is not the time to bring forward amendments—they muſt be ſpeculative and theoretical in the very nature of things, and may themſelves be the ſubjects of future amendments.—This conſideration points out in the cleareſt manner, the propriety of waiting the reſult of experiment, to determine the merits of the Conſtitution: To that let us refer the ſubject, and not waſte our time in uſeleſs ſpeculations.

Mr. GERRY thought it unneceſſary to go into a committee of the whole upon this ſubject at the preſent moment.—He did not think ſuch a ſtep neceſſary to ſatisfy the people, who are fully ſenſible that Congreſs is now engaged in the great objects of the government—he wiſhed however, that as early a day as poſſible, might be aſſigned, that the mode of another convention might not be thought of—in which we might loſe the moſt eſſential parts of the conſtitution—he obſerved, that he was not a blind admirer of the ſyſtem, there were defects as well as beauties in it—but as it was now become the conſtitution of the Union, he conceived, that the ſalvation of the country depended upon its eſtabliſhment, amended or not.—He was further in favor of an early day, on account of *North-Carolina* and *Rhode-Iſland*, as the acceſſion of theſe States to the Union was very deſirable, and good policy dictated that every proper ſtep ſhould be taken to expedite that event.—He was oppoſed to referring the matter to a ſelect committee—as derogatory to the dignity of the States—he conceived the whole of the amendments propoſed by the ſeveral conventions ſhould come immediately before the Houſe—The faith of Congreſs ought to be conſidered as pledged to take up this buſineſs upon the moſt extenſive ſcale—He moved therefore, that all the various propoſitions for amendments ſhould be referred to a committee of the whole, and that an early day be aſſigned to go into a full inveſtigation of the ſubject—and propoſed the firſt Monday in July.

Several other gentlemen ſpoke upon the ſubject, when

Mr. MADISON aroſe and withdrew his laſt motion for a ſelect committee, and then ſubmitted to the Houſe a reſolve comprizing a number of amendments to be incorporated in the conſtitution, theſe he read for the conſideration of the Houſe.

Mr. LIVERMORE was oppoſed to this reſolve—he conceived it entirely improper for any individual member to propoſe any particular number of amendments, which do not take up the different amendments propoſed by the ſeveral States.

Mr. PAGE and Mr. LEE ſeverally roſe to juſtify Mr. Madiſon, they thought themſelves under great obligations to him, and conceived that the mode he had adopted was juſt and fair—and calculated to bring the attention of the Houſe to a proper point in determining the ſubject.

Mr. MADISON obſerved, that it was neceſſary the ſubject ſhould be brought forward in ſome form or other—after waiting a conſiderable time for others to do it—he had thought proper to propoſe the form, now ſubmitted to the Houſe—newſpapers and pamphlets were the repoſitories of the ſeveral amendments—thoſe were not the proper ſources—the reſolve is now before the Houſe, and they may do what they think proper with it.

Mr. LAWRANCE moved, that the reſolve introduced by Mr. Madiſon, ſhould be ſubmitted to the conſideration of a committee of the whole on the ſtate of the Union.

Mr. BOUDINOT propoſed a ſelect committee to conſiſt of a member from each State.

After a few more obſervations the motion of Mr. Lawrance being put was carried in the affirmative.—The Houſe then adjourned.

TUESDAY, JUNE 9, 1789.

Houſe met perſuant to adjournment.

Upon motion it was voted, that this day fortnight the Houſe will reſolve itſelf into a committee of the whole, to take into conſideration the report of the committee reſpecting the enrollment, atteſtation, &c. of the acts of Congreſs.

It was moved, that the rule of the Houſe which enjoins a diviſion of the members, in caſe of doubt as to the deciſion of any queſtion, ſhould be amended, by ſaying, that the members in the affirmative ſhould riſe in their places, and ſtand till counted—this motion obtained.

The Houſe then reſolved itſelf into a committee of the whole, and reſumed the bill on the collection of the revenue.

Ports of delivery under conſideration.

Previous to making any further nomination of ſuch ports—it was moved, that the ſhores, bays, rivers, creeks and harbours, be divided into as many diſtricts as there are ports of entry in the United States.—This motion after a diſcuſſion was adopted.

It was moved to inſert a clauſe, whereby maſters of ſhips and other veſſels loaded with goods, wares, and merchandiſe, and bound into the United States from any foreign port, ſhould be obliged to produce duplicate manifeſtos of their reſpective cargoes, to any officers of the cuſtoms that may demand the ſame, previous to their entering the ports of deſtination.

This motion gave riſe to a lengthy converſation which terminated in withdrawing the motion.

It was then voted, that a COLLECTOR, a NAVAL-OFFICER, and a SURVEYOR ſhould be appointed for each of the following ports, viz. *Boſton, New-York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Norfolk and Portſmouth, Alexandria,* Virginia; *Georgetown* in Maryland, *Charleſton,* South-Carolina, and *Savanna.*—The committee then roſe and the Houſe adjourned.

NEW-YORK, JUNE 10, 1789.

It is indeed a ſubſtantial right, that all the laws of the country ſhould be made by repreſentatives choſen by the great body of the people. In this the body of the people have ſtrong hold of government. If they will always keep good hold of this right, and uſe it properly, the government will be free and happy. If they will be faithful to themſelves and their country, in always turning out and chooſing the moſt honeſt and able men they have for their repreſentatives, their rights and liberties will be well ſecured, and there is no danger but the government will go on well. It ſhould be felt as one of the moſt important and conſcientious duties, to be honeſt and faithful in the choice of their repreſentatives. But if the body of the people will ſtay at home at ſuch times, and ſuffer men who have nothing but ſelf intereſt at bottom, to puſh forward and get to be the law makers of the land, the new conſtitution will be no better than the old. One eaſy maxim well followed, will now keep us all ſafe, let every man that has a right to vote, make a point always to attend every election, and impartially vote for ſuch, as he thinks moſt honeſt and moſt able to ſerve their country.

There is one advantage which we may promiſe ourſelves from the thorough inveſtigation of the Revenue Syſtem—it will come forth at laſt in greater perfection.

Perhaps there is no part of legiſlation ſo difficult as to deviſe the moſt eaſy and acceptable methods of raiſing the neceſſary revenue from the pockets of the people: all wiſe and patriotic rulers are as ſolicitous to adjuſt the public burdens upon the ſcale of equity, as they are to realize ſufficient funds for the ſupport of juſt government.

Extract of a letter from Boſton, dated June 4, 1789.

"There has been three important ſeizures of goods, made by the revenue officers, within theſe few days. This will pave the way for an efficient execution of the new laws.

"Since ſealing the letter, I am credibly informed, that a motion has been made, in the General Court, by Mr. HENSHAW, that a joint Committee be appointed to prepare an addreſs to the Preſident of the United States, congratulating him on his appointment—expreſſing the attachment of the Legiſlature to his perſon—and their intention to give every aſſiſtance to his exertions for promoting the common good, agreeably to the Federal Conſtitution. The motion being ſeconded, paſſed in the affirmative unanimouſly. Mr. HENSHAW, Dr. JARVIS, and Mr. MASON were choſen on the part of the Houſe."

There have arrived in this port ſince Friday laſt, upwards of 30 ſail of veſſels.

☞ *In our paper of 30th ult. we gave an extract from the inſtructions of the* Duke of Orleans: *The ſketches handed us on Saturday, do not correſpond with them—we therefore requeſt ſome ſatisfaction as to their genuineneſs, before they appear.*

The RIGHT CONSTITUTION *of a* COMMONWEALTH EXAMINED.

[*Continued from our laſt.*]

Camillus, to ſpare himſelf reproach and envy, Dictator as he was, wrote to the ſenate, "that by the favor of the Gods, his own exertions, and the patience of the ſoldiers, Veii would ſoon be in his hands, and therefore he deſired their directions what to do with the ſpoils." The ſenate were of two opinions: Licinius was for giving notice to all the citizens that they might go and ſhare in the plunder; Appius Claudius would have it all brought into the public treaſury, or appropriated to the payment of the ſoldiers, which would eaſe the people of taxes. Licinius replied, that if the money ſhould be brought to the treaſury, it would be the cauſe of eternal complaints, murmurs, and ſeditions. The latter advice prevailed, and the plunder was indiſcriminate, for the city of Veii, after a ten years ſiege, in which many commanders had been employed, was at laſt taken by Camillus by ſtratagem; and the opulence of it appeared ſo great, that the dictator was terrified at his own good fortune, and that of his country. He prayed the gods, if it muſt be qualified with any diſgrace, that it might fall upon him, not the commonwealth. This piety and patriotiſm, however, did not always govern Camillus: His triumph betrayed an extravagance of vanity more than bordering on profaneneſs; he had the arrogance and preſumption to harneſs four white horſes in his chariot, a colour peculiar to Jupiter and the Sun, an ambition more than Roman, more than human. Here the people were very angry with Camillus for having too little reverence for religion: The next moment they were ſtill more incenſed againſt him for having too much, for he reminded them of a vow he had made to conſecrate a tenth part of the ſpoils to Apollo. The people, in ſhort, did not love Camillus; and the ſenate adored him becauſe he oppoſed the multitude on all occaſions, without any reſerve, and appeared the moſt ardent and active in reſiſting their caprices. It was eaſier to conquer enemies than to pleaſe citizens*. This mighty ariſtocratic grew ſo unpopular, that one of the tribunes accuſed him before the people of applying part of the ſpoils of Veii to his own uſe; and finding, upon conſulting his friends, that he had no chance of acquittal, he went into voluntary baniſhment at Ardea: but he prayed to the gods to make his ungrateful country regret his abſence. He was tried in his abſence, and condemned in a fine.—Had Nedham's conſtitution exiſted at Rome, would Camillus have taken Veii, or been made dictator, or employed at all? Certainly not. Characters much more plauſible would have run him down, or have obliged him to imitate all their indulgencies.

In all theſe examples of Cincinnatus, Curius, Fabius, and Camillus, &c. our author quotes examples of virtues which grew up only in a few ariſtocratical families, were cultivated by the emulation between the two orders in the State, and by their ſtruggles to check and balance each other, to prove the excellence of a ſtate where there is but one order, no emulation and no balance. This is like the conduct of a poet, who ſhould enumerate the cheerful rays and refulgent glories of the ſun in a deſcription of the beauties of midnight.

Whether ſucceſſion is, or is not, the grand preſervative againſt corruption, the United States of America have adopted this author's idea in this "Reaſon," ſo far as to make the governor and ſenate, as well as the houſe of repreſentatives, annually elective. They have therefore a clear claim to his congratulations. They are that happy nation: They ought to rejoice in the wiſdom and juſtice of their truſtees; for certain limits and bounds are fixed to the powers in being, by a declared ſucceſſion of the ſupreme authority annually in the hands of the people.

It is ſtill, however, problematical, whether this ſucceſſion will be the grand preſervative againſt corruption, or the grand inlet to it. The elections of governors and ſenators are ſo guarded, that there is room to hope; but, if we recollect the experience of paſt ages and other nations, there are grounds to fear. The experiment is made, and will have fair play. If corruption breaks in, a remedy muſt be provided; and what that remedy muſt be is well enough known to every man who thinks.

Our authors examples are taken from the Romans, after the abolition of monarchy, while the government was an ariſtocracy, in the hands of a ſenate, balanced only by the tribunes. It is moſt certainly true, that a ſtanding authority in the hands of one, the few, or the many, has an impetuous propenſity to corruption; and it is to controul this tendency that three orders equal and independent of each other, are contended for in the legiſlature. While power was in the hands of a ſenate, according to our author, the people were even in danger of loſing their liberty. It would be nearer the truth to ſay, that the people had no liberty, or a very imperfect and uncertain liberty; none at all before the inſtitution of the tribunes, and but an imperfect ſhare afterwards; becauſe the tribunes were an unequal balance to the ſenate, and ſo on the other ſide were the conſuls. "Sometimes in danger from kingly aſpirers." But whoſe fault was that? The ſenate had a ſufficient abhorrence of ſuch conſpiracies: It was the people who encouraged the ambition of particular perſons to aſpire, and who became their partizans. Melius would have been made a King by the people, if they had not been checked by the ſenate; and ſo would Manlius: To be convinced of this, it is neceſſary only to recollect the ſtory.—Spurius Melius, a rich citizen of the Equeſtrian order, in the year before Chriſt 437, and of Rome the 315th, a time of ſcarcity and famine, aſpired to the conſulſhip. He bought a large quantity of corn in Etruria, and diſtributed it among the people. Becoming by his liberality the darling of the populace, they attended his train, wherever he went, and promiſed him the conſulſhip. Senſible, however, that the ſenators, with the whole Quintian family at their head, would oppoſe him, he muſt uſe force; and as ambition is inſatiable, and cannot be contented with what is attainable, he conceived that to obtain the ſovereignty would coſt him no more trouble than the conſulſhip. The election came on, and as he had not concerted all his meaſures, T. Quintius Capitolinus and Agrippa Menonius Lanatus were choſen by the influence of the ſenate. L. Minutious was continued præfectus annonæ, or ſuperintendent of proviſions: His office obliged him to do in public the ſame that Melius affected to do in private; ſo that the ſame kind of people frequented the houſes of both. From them he learned the tranſactions at Melius's and informed the ſenate, that arms were carried into his houſe, where he held aſſemblies, made harrangues, and was taking meaſure to make himſelf King; and that the tribunes, corrupted by money, had divided among them the meaſures neceſſary to ſecure the ſucceſs of the enterprize. Quintius Capitolinus propoſed a dictator, and Quintius Cincinnatus (for the Quintian family were omnipotent) was appointed. The earneſt entreaties and warm remonſtrances of the whole ſenate prevailed on him to accept the truſt, after having long refuſed it, not from any reluctance to public ſercice, but on account of his great age, which made him believe himſelf incapable of it. Imploring the gods not to ſuffer his age to be a detriment to the public, he conſented to be nominated, and immediately appointed Ahala maſter of the horſe, appeared ſuddenly in the forum with his lictors, rods, and axes, aſcended the tribunal with all the enſigns of the ſovereign authority, and ſent his maſter of horſe to ſummon Melius before him. Melius endeavoured in his firſt ſurprize to eſcape: A lictor ſeized him. Melius complained that he was to be ſacrificed to the intrigues of the ſenate, for the good he had done the people. The people grew tumultuous: his partiſans encouraged each other, and took him by force from the lictor. Melius threw himſelf into the crowd: Servius followed him, run him through with his ſword, and returned, covered with his blood, to give an account to the dictator of what he had done. "You have done well," ſaid Cincinnatus; "continue to defend your country with the ſame courage as you have now delivered it—Macte virtute eſto liberata republica."

The people being in great commotion, the dictator calls an aſſembly, and pronounces Melius juſtly killed. With all our admiration for the moderation and modeſty, the ſimplicity and ſublimity of his character, it muſt be confeſſed that there is in the harrangue of Cincinnatus more of the ariſtocratical jealouſy of Kings and oligarchies and even more of contempt of the people, than of a ſoul devoted to equal liberty, or poſſeſſed of underſtanding to comprehend it: It is the ſpeech of a ſimple ariſtocratic, poſſeſſed of a great ſoul. It was a city in which, ſuch was its ariſtocratical jealouſy of monarchy and oligarchy, Brutus had puniſhed his ſon; Collatinus Tarquinius, in mere hatred of his name, had been obliged to abdicate the conſulſhip and baniſh himſelf; Spurius Caſſius had been put to death for intending to be King; and the decemvirs had been puniſhed with confiſcation, exile, and death, for their oligarchy. In ſuch a city of ariſtocratics Melius had conceived a hope of being a King. "Et quis homo?" ſays Cincinnatus; and who was Melius? "quam nullam nobilitatem, nullos honores, nulla "merita: cuiquam ad dominationem pandere "viam; ſed tamen Claudios, Caſſios, conſulati"bus, decemviratibus, ſuis majorumque honori"bus ſplendore familiarum ſuſtuliſſe animos, "quo nefas fuerit*." Melius, therefore, was not a traitor but a monſter; his eſtate muſt be confiſcated, his houſe pulled down, and the ſpot called Æquimelium, as a monument of the crime and the puniſhment, (Liv. lib. iv. c. 13, 14, 15, 16,) and his corn diſtributed to the populace, *very cheap*, in order to appeaſe them. This whole ſtory is a demonſtration of the oppreſſion of the people under the ariſtocracy; of the extreme jealouſy of that ariſtocracy of Kings, of an oligarchy, and of popular power; of the conſtant ſecret wiſhes of the people to ſet up a King to defend them againſt the nobles, and of their readineſs to fall in with the views of any rich man who flattered them, and ſet him up as a monarch: But it is a moſt unfortunate inſtance for Nedham. It was not the people who defended the republic againſt the deſigns of Melius, but the ſenate, defended it againſt both Melius and the people. Had Rome been then goverened by "Marchamont Nedham's right Conſtitution of a Commonwealth," Melius would infallibly have been made a King, and have tranſmitted his crown to his heirs. The neceſſity of an independent ſenate, as a check upon the people, is moſt apparent in this inſtance. If the people had been unchecked, or if they had only had the right of chooſing an houſe of repreſentatives unchecked, they would in either caſe have crowned Melius.

* Excellentibus ingeniis citius deſuerit ars quâ civem regant, quam quâ hoſtem ſuperent. Liv. ii. 43.

* "Who is this man? without nobility, without honors, "without merit, to open for him a way to the monarchy! Clau"dius, indeed, and Caſſius, had their ſouls elevated to ambition "by their conſulſhips and decemvirates, by the honors of their "anceſtors, and the ſplendor of their families."—Is their an old maiden aunt Eleanor, of ſevnty years of age, in any family, whoſe brain is more replete with the haughty ideas of blood, than that of the magnanimous Cincinnatus appears in this ſpeech? Riches are held in vaſt contempt! The equeſtrian order is no honor nor nobility; that too is held in ſovereign diſdain! Beneficence and charity, in a moſt exalted degree, at a time when his brother ariſtocrates were griping the people to death by the moſt cruel ſeverities, and the moſt ſordid and avaricious uſury, was no merit in Melius; but conſulſhips, decemvirates, honors, and the ſplendor of family, has his moſt profound admiration and veneration! Every circumſtance of this appears in this ſpeech, and ſuch was the real character of the man: And whoever celebrates or commemorates Cincinnatus as a patron of liberty, either knows not his character, or underſtands not the nature of liberty.

(*To be continued.*)

An ESSAY *on* FREE TRADE *and* FINANCES;

particularly ſhewing what ſupplies of public revenue may be drawn from Merchandiſe, *without injuring our trade or burdening our people.*

[By a Citizen of Philadelphia in, 1783.]

(*Continued from No. XV.*)

VII. When any country finds that any articles are growing into uſe, and their conſumption increaſing ſo far as to become hurtful to the proſperity of the people, or to corrupt their morals or œconomy, *'tis the intereſt and good policy of ſuch country to check and diminiſh the uſe and conſumption of ſuch articles*, down to ſuch degrees as ſhall conſiſt with the greateſt happineſs and purity of their people.

VIII. This is done the moſt effectually and unexceptionably, *by taxing ſuch articles, and thereby raiſing them ſo high*, as ſhall be neceſſary to reduce their conſumption, as far as is needful for the general good. The force of this obſervation has been felt by all nations, and ſumptuary laws have been tried in all ſhapes, to prevent or reduce ſuch hurtful conſumptions; but none can do it ſo effectually as *raiſing the price of them*: This touches the feelings of every purchaſer, and connects the uſe of ſuch articles with the pain of the purchaſer, who cannot afford them, ſo cloſely and ſo conſtantly, as cannot fail to operate by way of diminution or diſuſe of ſuch conſumption; and as to ſuch rich or prodigal people, as can or will go to the price of ſuch articles, they are the very perſons which I think the moſt able and ſuitable to pay taxes to the State. I think it would not be difficult to enumerate a great number of ſuch articles of luxury, pride, or mere ornament, which are growing into ſuch exceſſive uſe among us, as to become dangerous to the wealth, economy, morals, and health of our people, viz. diſtilled ſpirits of all ſorts, eſpecially whiſkey and country rum; all imported wines; ſilks of all ſorts, cambricks, lawn, laces, &c. &c. ſuperfine cloaths and velvets; jewels of all kinds, &c. to which might be added a very large catalogue of articles, though not ſo capitally dangerous as theſe, yet ſuch as would admit a check in their conſumption, without any damage to the States, ſuch as ſugar, tea, coffee, cocoa, fine linens; all cloaths and ſtuffs generally uſed by the richer claſs of people, &c. all which may be judiciouſly taxed at ten, twenty, fifty, or one hundred per cent. on their firſt importation; and to theſe might be added, a ſmall duty of perhaps five per cent. on all other imported goods whatever.

Two things are here to be conſidered and proved. 1. That this mode of taxation would be more beneficial to the community, than any other: And, 2d. That this mode is practicable, if theſe two things are fairly and clearly proved, I think there can be no room left for doubt, whether this kind of taxation ought to be immediately adopted, and put in practice.

I will offer my reaſons in favor of theſe propoſitions, as fully, clearly, and truly as I can, and hope they may be judged worthy attention. I will endeavor in the next to point out the benefits ariſing from taxation.

(*To be continued.*)

☞ *SUBSCRIPTIONS for the "COURIER DE BOSTON," the "COURIER DE BOSTON," a new weekly paper, publiſhed at Boſton in the French Language, the French Language, are received at No. 9, Maiden Lane.* [The utility of a paper in this univerſal language need not be hinted to thoſe, who wiſh to thoſe, who wiſh to acquire the French tongue.]

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